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deepening pessimism which shrouded the later years of his life. In view of the present unanimity of English political parties on the old age pension question and the anxiety of the conservatives to claim equal credit for the pensions with the liberals, Mr. Lecky's opinion of the project in 1899 is of interest. "To my mind," he wrote to Mr. Booth, "the old age pension project is one of the most dangerous of all forms of state socialism. . . . I am afraid we shall have a good deal of trouble on this matter, and that the unionist party may commit itself to a policy which is sure to lead to great corruption and increase of taxation." The study of history had convinced Lecky that political prophesy was not the domain of the historian. Consequently it is not to be laid to his discredit that many of his gloomy forebodings for the future of England and of Ireland do not seem to be on the way to fulfillment. It may be conceded also that pessimism and a rooted distrust of democracy are not helpful to an understanding of the future development of great self-governing nations. For his disinterested, fair-minded, painstaking research into the past, and for his lucid, well-balanced presentation of history, the present generation owes an immense debt to Lecky; but it is not necessary to adopt his pessimistic outlook, and to relinquish all hopeful faith in the gradual rise of humanity in the scale of civilization and morals.

Gathorne Hardy, First Earl of Cranbrook. A Memoir. With Extracts from His Diary and Correspondence. Edited by HON. ALFRED E. GATHORNE-HARDY. 2 volumes. New York: Longmans Green & Co. Pp. xi, 381; vii, 408.)

Gathorne Hardy for nearly forty years was one of the prominent and trusted leaders of the conservative party in England. During the whole of his active political life, he was the contemporary and opponent of Gladstone; and from 1868 to 1892 he ranked with Disraeli, Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote—afterward Earl of Iddesleigh—as a holder of high cabinet office, when the conservatives were in power; or as a fighting head of the party when in opposition. These two volumes of his memoirs and correspondence are consequently the most important addition to English political biography of the nineteenth century since the appearance of Morley's *Life of Gladstone*. They help to fill the gap in the line of conservative leaders which still awaits authoritative biographies of Derby, Disraeli, and Salisbury. They take up the story of the conservative party before it is dropped in the Malmesbury

Memiors, which were published in 1884 but which carry the history only to 1869. Between that time and the end of the century, before the publication of the present volumes, the only authentic and complete life of any conservative leader was Winston Churchill's *Life of his father*; and Lord Randolph Churchill's career was so short and meteoric that his biography goes but a short way in helping to a complete political history of the Victorian era.

Gladstone had been in parliament for 23 years before Gathorne Hardy was elected for Leominster in 1855; but Gathorne Hardy, when he entered the house of commons, was 41 years of age—only five years younger than his great political opponent. Gathorne Hardy was in parliament only three years before he was appointed to office. In 1858 he became under secretary for the home office in Derby's short-lived ministry, and from that date to 1895 when on account of age he declined to join the Salisbury administration, he held office continuously whenever the conservatives were in power. He was successively president of the Poor Law Board, home secretary, secretary for war, secretary for India, president of the council and chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. After 23 years in the house of commons, he was promoted to the peerage, and sat for 28 years, until his death in 1906, in the house of lords. The Marquis of Salisbury, as Robert Cecil, had entered the house of commons in 1853, two years previously to Gathorne Hardy, and in 1866 he had joined Lord Derby's administration as secretary for India. Gathorne Hardy was closely associated both with Disraeli and with Salisbury during the fifty years of his political life, and the great value of his biography is in the picture it gives of conservative policies and conservative administrations during the period when the fortunes of England were under the control alternately of Disraeli, Gladstone and Salisbury. Gathorne Hardy was preëminently a statesman of the type that may be described as safe and sane. He was upright, honorable, unemotional and trustworthy, without enthusiasm either for his leaders or the politics of his party, and untouched by the democratic tendencies of the age. He stands out in complete contrast to Gladstone, whose idealism and burning zeal made a crusade of every cause he undertook and who infused intense conviction into every policy he adopted. This profound difference of constitution and temperament made the antagonism between Gathorne Hardy and Gladstone much more profound and bitter than is usual between the leaders of English political parties. It colours every allusion to Gladstone in the letters and the diaries. The two men regarded every question from opposite points of view—a fact

which makes the present memoir both a complement and a corrective to Morley's *Life of Gladstone*. The two should be read side by side and the two points of view taken into account, in order to arrive at a fair comprehension of the course of English politics from 1855 to the end of the nineteenth century. Mr. Alfred E. Gathorne Hardy has edited his father's papers with care and discretion. The book would have been easier reading, had Mr. Gathorne Hardy used the third instead of the first person, in his connecting paragraphs. The diaries and letters were of course written in the first person, and the intrusion of a second individuality making use of the same form occasionally causes some needless confusion.

A. G. PORRITT.

The People's Law or Popular Participation in Law-making, from ancient Folk-moot to modern Referendum. A Study in the Evolution of Democracy and Direct Legislation. By CHARLES SUMNER LOBINGIER. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909. Pp. xxi, 429.)

The title of this work is somewhat misleading. It is not a complete history of popular legislation but mainly an account of popular participation in constitution-making in the United States. Judge Lobingier, it is true, devotes some attention to popular government before the American Revolution, and one part of his work is entitled, "Popular Participation in Law-making outside of the United States," but his account of the referendum in other countries is practically valueless, and the same statement may perhaps be made with reference to the discussion of early forms of popular participation in government. The Swiss referendum is excluded from treatment.

After a brief and unsatisfactory discussion of primitive popular assemblies and of folk-moots and craft guilds, Judge Lobingier discusses the democratizing influence of Calvinism and of the church covenants, and devotes a chapter to the popular movements in the British Islands before and during the Puritan period. He then discusses somewhat fully popular government in colonial America. The discussion here is perhaps the most unsatisfactory in the book. The author follows the development of popular government in the Colonies in so far as it has to deal with the English Puritan in New England and with the Scotch Presbyterian in the Southern colonies (p. 67). Puritanism and Cal-